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POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Rwanda

Dutch Mediation Idea. We have not had a formal response yet from the Dutch on our proposal to have them facilitate initiation of a political dialogue. We understand that a decision memorandum is on the Dutch Foreign Minister's desk; however, he is traveling (and is scheduled to come to Washington next week). The memorandum apparently recommends that the Dutch government consult with the Belgians and French before making a decision. We have already advised the French and Belgians of our approach to the Dutch.

Belgian FM Views. In a roundtable with USG Central Africa watchers today, Belgian Foreign Minister Vandembroucke said the GOB was disappointed with the lack of movement on the political front. He expressed some doubts about a Dutch-only mediation effort and suggested consideration of a "balanced" contact group of a few key countries to try to spark a dialogue. He stressed the need to involve the Africans, as well. We agreed that the Africans have a role to play but noted that the GOR has been resistant to OAU involvement. We stressed that the Dutch initiative was a feeler and was made with the recognition that someone had to step in and try to spark something. We, the Belgians, and others had too much baggage for that, and the Dutch, with their strong interest in helping Rwanda, seemed a good candidate.

Burundi

Tensions Rising. The "ville morte" (general strike) called by opposition hardliners moves into its third day, after spreading from Bujumbura to cities in the interior. Moderate (opposition Tutsi) Prime Minister Anatole Kanyenkiko announced at mid-week that he was willing to resign (as demanded by extremists in his own party), but that he would stay in his job until a new Prime Minister was appointed by consensus, as required by the September 1994 conventions of government. Heavy gunfire was heard in the outlying neighborhoods of Bujumbura on the night of February 15, but there were few casualties and little damage. The turbulence has not prevented the regional refugee conference from proceeding, and conference participants are planning to issue a statement supportive of the powersharing conventions and establishment of an international commission of inquiry into the October 1993 coup attempt, assassination of President Ndadaye, and subsequent massacres.

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Belgian FM Very Concerned. Belgian Foreign Minister Vandembroucke said today he was very concerned about Burundi and thought it was a matter of possibly only two or three weeks before a serious crisis occurred. He thought the opposition might try to force the President out of office next. Vandembroucke stressed the need to get the Burundi military to speak out in support of the powersharing conventions and of the government, rather than simply maintaining order and proclaiming "political neutrality", which merely emboldens the Tutsi opposition. He felt that we had exhausted diplomatic efforts and that using development funds to bolster the situation would not produce results fast enough. The Belgians are not sure how to play the accountability issue, which has its pros and cons, and they see bolstering the very modest OAU force as an option that would take too long and would have minimal results. He revealed that UNSRSG Abdallah had proposed to him the preventive deployment of EU or other forces, and suggested a Chapter VII mission, in Burundi or on standby in Zaire. Vandembroucke noted that this could have a preventive effect, but might also be provocative, and there was a question of whether the international community would have the necessary political or financial will. We noted that these last two concerns had caused the international community to reject a similar proposal from Boutros Ghali last year.

#### REFUGEES

The Refugee Conference. In preparatory meetings at the beginning of the week, the Rwandan delegate objected to several key elements in the preamble of the draft conference action plan, including: joint consideration of Rwanda and Burundi; mention of Rwandan internally displaced; discussion of reconciliation; and mention of a role for the OAU in Rwanda's refugee question. Before leaving for Bujumbura, A/S Oakley and Amb. Rawson expressed our concerns to the GOR and urged Rwandan cooperation. The Rwandan Foreign Minister promised Amb. Rawson he would send a message to the delegation in Bujumbura. Since then, the delegation has been much more cooperative, and the conference participants have been moving well through the agenda. However, the Action Plan has not yet been debated, and disagreements or difficulties could still arise.

Camp Security. Harassment of NGO workers continues. MSF/Belgium has pulled out of Kibumba camp after its workers were threatened, and Concern is now considering withdrawing from Katale camp. The first one hundred of the expected 1,500 Zairian troops arrived in Goma on February 11 and are encamped next to the Kibumba refugee camp. NGOs and others are concerned that the deployment of the Zairian troops not be completed too rapidly, as the liaison officers to be deployed

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have not been engaged yet. We understand that 13 Dutch advisors, as part of this UNHCR Liaison Group, are to arrive soon. Belgian FM Vandenbroucke expressed the commonly voiced view that the UNHCR camp security plan for Zaire was a weak option, but was more or less the best we could do. He was disappointed that the commander of the UNHCR liaison group would not also command the 1500 Zairians and stressed the need for close monitoring and oversight of the Zairian contingent by the UNHCR security experts.

Registration. What started out as a relatively successful effort to register the refugees in the Goma area has now turned into a massive failure fraught with fraud through multiple registrations. With final registration results now invalid, UNHCR is in a difficult position in the camps, especially with serious food pipeline shortages looming in the not too distant future. It was hoped that a successful registration would lead to food distribution at the family level, thereby increasing the integrity of the relief distribution mechanism.

Volcanoes. The DART reports that the volcano threat appears to have subsided substantially. According to volcanologists and seismologists on the spot, misreadings of some early data may have exaggerated the seriousness of the threat. Nonetheless, we continue to press to use the uncertainty surrounding the volcanos as an important reason to accelerate repatriation efforts. UNHCR told the Oakley delegation that there was nothing to be worried about right now and that there were far more serious issues such as security, registration and repatriation. Nevertheless, UNHCR continues to refine its contingency plans for the evacuation of camps that are believed to be in the path of lava flows in the event of an eruption.

Repatriation. UNHCR is undertaking a more active repatriation program with the hope that the Goma caseload can be reduced safely. There appears to be a fairly constant, but small, flow of refugees presenting themselves for repatriation. Registration of the returnees is done in confidence and as close to departure time as possible to prevent intimidation and security problems. UNHCR and the NGOs estimate that at least half of the refugees in Goma want to return home.

#### RULE OF LAW PROGRAMS

Plans to help the Rwandan Ministry of Justice rebuild the legal system have begun to move forward. A multilateral assessment of the Rwandan legal system was completed in early December, and the team's report was discussed at the January UNDP Roundtable meeting. UNDP intends to coordinate proposed

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assistance programs, including approximately \$4.8 million for rule of law programs. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Human Rights Center intends to implement and coordinate a short-term legal reform program using UNDP funds. USAID has proposed a "rapid response program" to help Rwanda re-establish its justice system. USAID has budgeted between \$2.5-\$4M of FY95 funds for this program, in addition to using \$600,000 of FY94 funds to help procure equipment for the MoJ and Ministry of Interior. An AID contractor will send 5 specialists to Kigali at the end of February, for approximately one month, to develop specific, detailed work programs. AID is also planning to fund a long-term assessment of Rwanda's prospects for democracy. This assessment is expected to begin in March and run for a month or so.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS

The Human Rights Monitor program in Rwanda currently has 85 employees, of which about 50 are deployed in the field. Approximately 25 UN Volunteers (UNV's) and 35 EU Monitors are due to arrive toward the end of February. The addition of these two groups will allow for full commune-level deployment. While the program is expected to be up to the maximum authorized strength by the first of March, funding problems may reverse this situation. Pledges have been made to the Human Rights Monitor program amounting to \$4.1 million; however, many of the countries which pledged contributions have not paid up. The program will run out of funds at the end of March, and tentative plans are being made to cut 25 monitors. We plan to raise this issue in the February 18 Rwanda Operational Support Group meeting, to be held in Bujumbura after the refugee conference.

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